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Political and Military  
OBSERVATIONS  
OF THE  
COURT & CAMP  
OF  
FRANCE.

During the Late

W A R S

IN

*Flanders, Germany, &c.*

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L O N D O N:

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I  
To the  
RIGHT HONOURABLE,  
Sir THOMAS DAVIES,  
O LORD MAYOR  
OF  
C O N D O N.

My Lord,

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RIGHT HONOURABLE,  
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LORD MAYOR  
OF  
LONDON.

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## The Epistle

*bear thronging, among others, to congratulate your Lordships assuming the government of this great Metropolis: though I could have dated your knowledge of me many years since, and did withal reflect on your civilities towards me, even after your advancement to the honours and Magistracy of the City.*

*This little collection of Observations was made at a great distance from this Place, and it is not impossible, but that many things in it have appear'd upon the Stage before, in other words. But the comfort is, that the present Age is more fertile in Poor-Robins, than is imagin'd: There will be*

## DEDICATORY.

*a continual circulation of Writing and Printing, and the knack of making old things recommendable, by the novelty of their dress, will last as long as there are Books.*

*In which last concern, as 'tis no easy matter to offer your Lordship any thing that is new; so, in this Address, my main design is, only to make a sincere acknowledgment of the respects, justly due to your Lordship, from,*

My Lord,

Your most humble

Servant,

J. DAVIES.





*Books printed for Robert Robinson,  
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Holborn.*

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Prudential Reflections, Moral Conside-  
rations, Stoical Maximes: English'd by  
J. D. of Kidwelly.

P O L I.

---

POLITICAL,  
AND  
MILITARY  
OBSERVATIONS.

---

## I.

**I**T is the common humour of Mankind, principally to fear the danger which is next at hand, and to be more carefully concern'd for things present, than is requisite; and on the contrary, to make less account than they ought of those things which are to come, and at a distance; and this out of a certain presumption, that Time and the contingency of humane accidents may afford some remedy for the latter.

B.

II.

## Political & Military

### II.

**I**T happens many times, that the wisdom which is over-curious, and too too considerative, may be blame-worthy; inasmuch as the affairs of the World are subject to so many and so great a diversity of occurrences and disappointments, that that seldom happens, which wise men imagined would come to pass. That person therefore who quits the present good, out of a fear of the future danger, (it being presuppos'd that the danger is not inevitable and too near at hand) finds, to his sorrow, that he has let slip the occasion which presented it self to him of gaining honour or advantage, meerly out of a fear of the danger, which is afterwards found to have been vain.

### III.



---

POLITICAL  
AND  
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## I.

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**W**hen the prudent man finds himself induc'd to give way to some just cause of discontent (from what occasion soever it may proceed) he ought to moderate it, what lies in his power, with a mature judgment; out of this motive, that he is not so much to mind his own private interest, as that of the publick; since it is not unlikely, but that his discontent may be prejudicial to the welfare of the State.

IV.

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**A** Great power, and that united in one person, is more to be dreaded than that which is divided amongst several parties; which latter, as it has a diversity of motives, so has it also a diversity and discordancy of operations, and those promoting a diversity of designs.



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V.

**T**Here is this observable in Republicks, that they are not govern'd according to the inclinations of a single person, but by the joint deliberations and consent of many; and thence it comes, that commonly they are thought to carry on their consultations with moderation and respect.

VI.

**S**uch as the Prince is in point of Morality, such is the government of affairs. If the Prince himself be a person of no great esteem, those in a condition tending to ruine; if he be a person of conduct, and virtuous, they flourish.

VII.

**N**EW Conquests, if they be not well regulated, nor prudently governed, do rather burthen the people.

## Observations.

5

who has made them, than render him more potent and considerable. For it is not to be expected that he should be the occasion of any good or happiness to a Government, which he hath acquir'd by indirect means.

### VIII.

**A**S we find in the ordering of mans body, that it is not sufficient the Head be free from all indisposition, but it is withal requisite that the other Members exercise their several functions: So neither is it sufficient in the Government of a State, that the Prince himself be unchargeable with any default in the management of affairs, if there be not a correspondence of diligence and vertuous action in his Officers.

### IX.

**T**HE Prince and the Republick are seriously to consider, what difference there is between being the first Aggres-

## 6 Political & Military

Aggressors in a war against another and expecting the other to be the first beginner thereof; between treating about the dividing of another State and expecting till their own be in danger thereof: and lastly, whether it be better to have one only Assistant or to engage alone against several joint Adversaries; and after such consideration made to deliberate about what is likely to prove most conducive to their particular interest.

### X.

**I**T is a thing of singular prudence and great reputation in a great Prince when he so demeanes himself in his affairs, as that they who are inferior to him, have no occasion to suspect, that he does any thing out of dissimulation, or by way of personation, or out of any other design that is not good and justifiable.



XI.

**W**Hen Princes enter into leagues, in order to the reducing of interests to a certain equality, there easily arise disgusts and jealousies among them; whence it often happens, that enterprises begun with a great opinion of success, meet with many difficulties, and in fine come to nothing.

XII.

**F**Or a man to be a King may sometimes be the effect of success; but to exercise that sacred and royal function, which proposes to it self for its last end, the good and welfare of his people, depends wholly on the person himself, and the virtue which ought to be attendant on him.

XIII.

**I**N difficult and intricate deliberations, the Prince ought to approve those.

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those for easie and desirable which generally are necessary, or at least those which prove in comparison of others, seem to entail imply less difficulty, and less danger.

### XIV.

**T**HE greater and more powerful territorial a King is, the more honorable it is for him to employ his grandeur in the maintenance and administration of justice, and the preservation of publick faith; there being not any thing more unbecoming a Prince or Republick, than to be defective in the observance of publick obligations.

### XV.

**I**N things that are doubtful, the Prince ought to continue in suspense, and to reserve to himself, as much as lyes in his power, the means of taking and fixing upon that resolution, which he shall find by the general

## Observations.

9

which general course of affairs likely to  
which prove most beneficial and expedi-  
ent.  
dan.

### XVI.

**T**He prudential Captain is he, who  
to obtain a victory with grea-  
ter security, would rather do it with  
great protraction of time, much  
hardship endur'd, and cautious ad-  
venturing forward, with sufficient  
provision for all accidents, than  
to overcome with ease and expedi-  
tion, merely to acquire glory to him-  
self by putting all to an immediate  
hazard.

### XVII.

**I**T commonly happens through the  
corrupt judgment of mankind,  
that prodigality is more recom-  
mended in a King, though in some  
measure attended with rapine,  
than frugality, though accompani'd  
by an abstinence from encroach-

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ing.



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ing upon that which is anothers. and

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XVIII.

ALL the things, for which men are so industrious and concern'd in this world, are reducible to two points, to wit, profit and honour; under that of profit is comprehended whatever concerns the Body, under that of honour, whatever concerns the mind.

XIX.

THE Prince ought to be grave, by a regular stayedness of demeanour, governing himself with moderation in all his affairs, performing the promises he hath made, and standing more in fear of doing that which is evil, than that any ill should be done to him; and all this with a continual remembrance, that he being but a man, has receiv'd from God a power almost divine; but to this end, that he might be a furtherer and

## Observations: II

and advancer of things just, and of good report, in his Government.

### XX.

THE Citizen who begins to concern himself in the management of the publick affairs, ought to live according to the usual course of the other Citizens, and accommodate himself to their humour, and with all the dexterity and prudence he can, promote those things, wherewith the populace are more satisfy'd, and by which they are ordinarily kept in a good humour. By these compliances he will come into repute and credit, and acquire authority.

### XXI.

THEY who are entrusted with the management of the affairs of a free State, ought to be always mindful of two precepts of *Plato*. One is, that they principally promote the advantage of the Citizens, and  
make

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make all their endeavours subservi- his  
ent to that end, not regarding their we  
own private interests. The other is, dea  
that they have an eye on the whole  
body of the Republick, so as that  
though they incline to one party, yet T  
they must not desert another. The rea- to  
son of it is, that the Commonwealth ho  
ought to be govern'd as a Guardian- tha  
ship is, to wit, for the good and int  
advantage of those who are receiv'd or  
under the charge thereof, and not his  
altogether for theirs, to whom it is  
committed.

### XXII.

IT is the peculiar charge of the Ma- do  
gistrate, to be careful, that he pe  
represent the person of the City, and in  
that he maintain the order and dig- th  
nity thereof, observe the Laws, and pr  
be mindful of the things committed be  
to his trust; and make provision not th  
only for what is done, but also for th  
what ought to be done; it being his



his business, that the Commonwealth be as well regulated after his death, as it was, while he liv'd.

XXIII.

**T**HAT War is just which is necessary, and that is a pious recourse to Arms, when there remains no hopes otherwise than in Arms; and that war is just which a Prince enters into, either to recover what is lost, or to prevent the wrong intended him.

XXIV.

**T**HIS ought to be heeded by Governours, that when they pardon a small number of delinquent persons, they disoblige all the good; in regard that these latter perceiving that mischief is pardon'd, cannot promise themselves that good will be requited by the Governours; and thereupon persuading themselves that there is more to be gotten among

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mong the wicked, they are easily diverted from well doing.

XXV.

**I**T is always observ'd, that in Cities, they who are necessitous envy the good, and have an esteem for the wicked; they quarrel at things of ancient establishment, and are forward to promote novelties; and out of the aversion they have for the wealthier sort, they study tumult and seditions, imagining that their poverty and multitude will indemnify them from the punishments, due to the disorders, whereof they are the occasions and abettors.

XXVI.

**W**hen persons of a mean and despicable condition are guilty of any miscarriage, it is known but to few persons, and the noise of their actions reaches no further than their conditions will bear. But the

acts and demeanour of those who are of great quality, and owners of great Estates, are remarkable to all, and so become more highly censurable.

XXVII.

**I**T is seldom seen that a vertuous man loses his Liberty, but he withal in some respect loses his Life; in regard it is a thing notorious to all, and of great difficulty to those who have been educated and enur'd to freedom, to be reduc'd to a servile life, inasmuch as of all things in the world Liberty is the best and most desirable, the very name whereof is a character of vertue, as servitude is a mark of misfortune.

XXVIII.

**W**Hen a person of noble extraction degenerates from his Ancestors by the doing of things that are not vertuous, he ought to remember,



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member, that by how much theby t  
more illustrious the Lives of his Pro-sent  
genitors were, in their times, soon t  
much the more scandalous and reties  
proachable will his appear: inas-eith  
much as the lustre and reputation ofjusti  
Ancestors is as it were a light towith  
their Descendents, which discovers,reas  
to the eyes of others, the vertue orduri  
vice which is remarkable in them. by

### XXIX.

**T**IS an humour highly commen-nier  
dable in a victorious Prince, to  
when he is so far mindful of him-disp  
self, as to endeavour rather to do  
what is consistent with the rules of  
generosity, than to impose conditi-IF  
ons too insupportable upon his con-  
quer'd enemies. mo

### XXX.

**H**E who is of an humour inthe  
clin'd to peace, will not be di-cisi  
verted from the concluding of itasf  
by

theby the great difficulties which present themselves in the negotiation thereof; inasmuch as the difficulties occurrent therein, are remov'd either by the force of down-right justice, or by retaliating injustice with injustice, and counterpoising reason with reason, or by the enduring of a lesser prejudice, or by a mutual deference of several parties in abating somewhat of their right; as shall seem most convenient to prudent persons, according to the importance of the thing in dispute.

XXXI.

It is the property of a well established and well regulated Commonwealth, that all Affairs, or the greatest part thereof, as far as it is possible, be manag'd, and decided by the Laws, rather than left to the decision and discretion of a Judge; inasmuch as there are few of so great ability

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abilities and sound understanding as to be sufficiently skill'd in the Laws, and withal of unquestion'd integrity, to give right judgement in a doubtful case; whereas the Law themselves, by long experience of affairs, and by mature consideration are reduc'd to perfection: but the judgment of man according to his natural bent to love or aversion is wrested and corrupted without the support of the Law.

XXXII.

**A**Mong those of the popular rank discords arise from the disparity of Estates, in regard those of the lower rate are desirous to be equal to those of the higher; but among the Nobility, they proceed from grandeurs, inasmuch as they who are equal are desirous to aggrandize themselves.



XXXIII.

**W**Hen men are come near that disaster or inconvenience into which they are fatally design'd to fall, 'tis then that they are principally depriv'd of those advantages of circumspection and prudence, with the assistance whereof they might, in all likelihood, have avoided the inconvenience which threatned them.

XXXIV.

**W**Hen matters of great importance are under debate, there is not any thing more necessary on the one side, nor more dangerous on the other, than to take advice thereupon; and no doubt the prudent person stands less in need of counsel than the imprudent, and accordingly the former derives greater advantages from taking counsel than the other, because he has so great a stock

stock of prudence, as to be able to consider and weigh things of himself, and amongst the reasons that are offer'd, to discern those which make most for his interest. But what assurance can the imprudent person have, in asking counsel, that the advertisements he receives are good and faithful? For if the person who gives counsel be not highly faithful and well affected to him who desires it, but is inducible to be otherwise, out of some notorious concern of his own, or out of some motive of advantage, or slender satisfaction, he will frame his advice so as that it may be most beneficial to himself. And that intention of his being for the most part unknown to the party consulting, he makes no discovery, if he be not a prudent person, of the perfidiousness of the Counsel that is given him.

XXXV.

**H**E who is desirous to ballance things between Princes, and to observe a punctual neutrality, must, with the greatest circumspection he can, abstain not only from all acts, but also from any discovery, which may raise a suspicion of his being inclin'd to one side more than the other.

XXXVI.

**Y**outh, as it is that part of Man's Age which is most greedy of honour, and looks upon disgrace with the greatest indignation, so is it also the most capable of enduring the inconveniencies, difficulties, and hardships, which necessarily attend War. The difference there is between men or nations is not to be measured by years, but by ingenuity, vivacity, and soundness of judgment, study, industry, and the



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the particular exercises of vertue.

XXXVII.

**I**F a great person has done thee a  
injury, dissemble thy reception  
thereof, and smother thy resent-  
ments; for it is a pure extravagance  
to be disgusted against a person  
whom thou dar'st not call to  
account, and whom it were impru-  
dence in thee further to exasperate.

XXXVIII.

**T**Here happens an infinite variety  
of turns and changes in mil-  
itary affairs; therefore ought not  
man to grow too confident upon  
new advantages, nor be too much  
depressed, upon the contrary: inas-  
much as ever and anon, there comes  
some alteration, whereby this lesson  
may be learnt, that when op-  
portunity presents it self, it should  
not be neglected, because it lasts  
but for a short time.

XXXIX

XXXIX.

**W**hen matters come first under deliberation, it is most seriously to be consider'd, what the issue thereof may be; and then ought men to be cautious how they assent to uncivil and pernicious demands. For some have found by experience, that when such as they are treating withal have obtain'd what they desired, it has prov'd only an encouragement to them to make a further progress in their demands.

XL.

**T**he more sudden and unexpected accidents are, the greater discomposure and astonishment do they cause to those to whom they happen. It is therefore the part of a prudent person, to make that provision before-hand, which may prevent his being surpriz'd or disturb'd; or if it so happen that it cannot be avoided,

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avoided, let him endeavour, from the present state of things, to foresee what may come to pass, and use all the precautions remedies, which his experience and prudence can suggest, and not suffering things to grow worse and worse.

### XL I.

**I**T always happens, in civil conversation, that, whether a vicious act be chastis'd, or a virtuous act recompenc'd, the whole body of the Citizens receives a good thereby; nor was there ever any experiment more contributory to the preservation of Cities in a happy and flourishing state, than that counterbalancing of punishment and reward justly apply'd according to desert.

### XL II.

**A**LL the assurances that can be had of an Enemy whether by oath, parole, engagement to friends



promises, or whatever other way can be imagin'd, are good ; but by reason of the corruption of persons, the depravation of Morality, and the vicissitude of times and accidents, the best expedient is for a man to take such order in his affairs, as that the Enemy may not be in a capacity to annoy him.

XLIII.

THE present method of carrying on a War is much different from that of the Ancients, who did not their work by Assassinations, and surprises, but discover'd to the Enemy, if any base contrivance were in hand against him, and all out of a confidence that they should be able to overcome him by Vertue.

XLIV.

WHEN a man is advanc'd to some great charge; it is soon discover'd whether he be a person of great

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great abilities, or not ; but above all by the augmentation of his worldly concerns, and the advantages he may have by his Office, the affections of his heart are discover'd, together with his disposition; inasmuch as, the greater person he is, so much the less cautious will he be in suffering himself to be carry'd away with the current of his own natural humour.

### XLV.

**B**E it thy continual care, that thine Superiour conceive no ill opinion of thee, and be not over-confident of the leading an unblameable course of life, but endeavour to be such a one as that thou mayst not be much afraid to fall into his hands ; inasmuch as there is an infinite number of unforeseen occasions, wherein thou mayst stand in need of him, and be glad to insinuate into his favour.

### XLVI

XLVI.

**T**HE Governour ought rather to fix his consideration upon the substance and reality of the thing, than upon the appearance of it, measuring it rather by prudence, than by his own will, and being always distrustful of himself; in regard it is a great reproach to a State, when imprudence is attended by danger.

XLVII.

**T**HE grand mystery of War consists rather in obedience, than a curiosity of knowing the reason of the General's orders; and that Army is well fitted and prepar'd for danger, which, before it is set on work, is the most exactly kept under discipline.



## XLVIII.

**A**LL those who are concern'd, or commissionated to deliberate and treat of Affairs of great importance, ought to consider with themselves, whether that they undertake will prove beneficial to the Commonwealth, honorable to themselves, and may be compass'd without any great difficulty.

## XLIX.

**I**N the carrying on of Enterprises, it is to be observ'd, whether he who gives the advice, is also willing to expose his person to danger; and when the enterprise has taken effect, it is to be consider'd, to whom the honour thereof is principally to be attributed.

L.

**I**N the times of publick disturbances and seditions, they always have the greatest power and credit, who of all are the most wicked; but in times of peace and tranquillity, they are most in esteem who are the most remarkable for their conduct, and observance of discipline.

LI.

**M**EN would not be so violently addicted to mischief, were it not for the advantages or satisfaction they reap thereby. This gave occasion to wise Lawgivers to make punishments and rewards the groundwork and support of their Governments, not so much out of a design to afflict their subjects, as to divert them from those things wherein they are apt to follow their own corrupt inclinations.

## LII.

AS Discord divides one City and makes it two, or more, and gives occasion to those who have their eye upon it to advance and carry on their designs with greater success against it; so Union restrains and cements the Counsels of many, and reduces them into one body, and by that means keeps the government closely compacted together, and uncorrupted.

## LIII.

AS it happens in a structure of importance, that there is more danger of the falling of one Stone towards the foundation, than if a hundred Tiles fall down from the roof of it: so is it a much greater fault in point of policy, to disobey justice, than to commit many slight faults against the particular devoir between man and man; since it has been ob-

serv'd



serv'd, that many times great scandals have been rais'd in the Commonwealth, which were occasion'd at first by some small disobedience.

LIV.

IT would be a good and wholsom Law, if those persons, who observe no regularity in their lives, and who are negligent in the management of their domestick concerns, who order not their affairs as they ought to do, and discover no observance of discipline in their own families, but live in perpetual jarring and contention with their Neighbours, should be put under the tuition of Guardians, who might treat them and keep them in, as distracted and extravagant persons, to prevent the communicating their extravagance to others; inas- much as the Commonwealth is never more likely to fall into disturbance, than it is by their means who observe no rule in their private demeanour.

## LV.

**T**Here is not any thing more com-  
 mon or more pernicious among  
 men, than that deceitful imaginati-  
 on of one mans condition being bet-  
 ter than another. And this pro-  
 ceeds hence, that mens eyes are  
 blinded with malice and envy, that  
 they would rather with much trouble  
 grasp at what belongs to another  
 than quietly enjoy their own. The  
 condition of Princes is really good,  
 if they make a good use thereof.  
 In like manner, the popular state is  
 good, if men acquit themselves  
 therein as they ought to do. The  
 condition of the wealthy is good, if  
 they use it with moderation; and  
 so is that of the poor, if it be attend-  
 ed with patience, which is of such a  
 sovereign vertue, as to make that  
 good which is generally accounted  
 otherwise.

LVI.

IF Subjects knew what a hard task the Prince has in commanding, or if the Prince knew how sweet a thing it is to live in tranquillity, the meaner sort would have a great compassion on the Grandees, and the Grandees would envy those of a mean condition; inasmuch as the diversifications which the Prince enjoys, amount to little in comparison of the discontents he is forc'd to endure. But as the station of the Prince is the highest of all, as he can do more than all, as his worth exceeds that of all the rest, as he endures more than all, and surpasses all in government; so is it necessary, that the Court, the person, and life of the Prince be better regulated than those of all the rest, inasmuch as it is the rule, measure, and standard thereof.



## LVII.

**T**Here is not any thing whereof a wise Prince should be more self-satisfy'd, than that he has about him some person eminent for their valour and conduct, to carry on the military concerns, and others signal for their prudence and integrity, to manage the civil.

## LVIII.

**I**T is a very remarkable observation, that men eminent for their valour and good fortune in Military affairs are born and flourish much more in one time than they do in another. For if a valiant person rise up in the time of a daring Prince he shall be in great esteem, and employ'd upon extraordinary designs but if he live under a timorous and distrustful Prince, such a Prince shall make greater account of those who study how to improve and advance his

his Revenues, than he will do of him who shall return crown'd with Laurels from the Wars.

LIX.

They who are desirous of the reputation of good Princes, ought to propose to themselves the examples of such as have been such in their several ages: for to that end are the Lives and Actions of illustrious persons, by faithful Historians, transmitted to Posterity; that Princes and Grandees may have such Exemplars set before them as they ought to imitate.

LX.

THE greatest care a Governour ought to take, is to find out the person who shall advise him to govern well, and to maintain his Estate with Justice. And that is not done with harsh words, but with a meekness that gains mens hearts, and acts

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acts of good example; for a generous Soul is easily drawn in to obey when the person who imposes the command is of good repute and example.

### LXI.

**T**Here happens one thing in the world which is worthy our serious observance; to wit, that among the good, there is some one transcendently good, so in like manner, among the bad, there is one transcendently such. But the misfortune is, that the good person does not gain so much honour by his virtue, as the lewd person does reputation by his lewdness; in regard virtue renders a man naturally inclin'd to retirement, whereas the vicious person never thinks better of himself, than when he appears upon the Stage.

### LXII.



LXII.

**P**Rinces ought not to betray their surprize and astonishment at any thing, even when things seem to go most against them; but they should obstinately stand upon the defence of their own, expecting their neighbour Princes will find it their own interest to keep them up in their former station, to prevent the overgrowth of some ambitious Pretender.

LXIII.

**T**HE person o'repress'd with calamities and disasters is always hearkning after some change of fortune, whereas he who is at his ease does not so much as think of any alteration; the latter is sufficiently satisfi'd with the present posture of his affairs, and the other looks on Vicissitude as the only means to cause some amendment in his condition.

LXIV.

## LXIV.

SOME wise men affirm, that when **IT** is the Commonwealth is upon the choice of a Governour, they should be sure to pitch upon a person who has been at least ten years in the wars; in regard that he alone is most likely to be the best preserver of a desired peace, who has been experimentally acquainted with the miseries and calamities consequent to War.

## LXV.

**N**O doubt but that Prince does most wisely, who regulates his affairs answerably to his Revenues; in regard that if he do not, and his Territories be but small, he must either run the hazard of losing what he is possess'd of, or, to keep himself up, do those things that are burthensom to his Subjects, and so his Government must degenerate into Tyranny.

LXVI.

LXVI.

**I**T is the greatest commendation that can be of the supreme Magistrate, to be conversant and familiar with the good, (since that familiarity is the greatest incentive and encouragement that can be to goodness;) to be liberal of his estate in doing of good works, (it being notorious, that he who values his reputation, makes but little account of money;) to extirpate Tyranny (inasmuch as the consent and harmony of the Princes Government consists in the chastisement of the bad, and the rewarding of the good;) and to shew his munificence upon all occasions; in regard there is not any thing more endears the Majesty of the Prince, than when he makes all the demonstrations he can of his grandeur, in relieving others, and not expecting that he should derive great advantage from others.

LXVII.



## LXVII.

**T**WO things render a City secure, and highly contribute to the commendation and honour of its Governours; the one, when it is guarded by those whose Estates are the most considerable, & is well provided with all things relating to the defensive part; the other, when there is a fair correspondence between its Governours and their Neighbours; without which there cannot be a free intercourse of commerce, and mutual supplies of all necessary provisions.

## LXVIII.

**A** Sovereign Lord, who would be obey'd, will do well, in the first place to conclude it necessary, that when he commands, he should make some discovery of his own personal observance thereof, in regard that no Lord is to propose that sovereign.

ty to himself, as to be exempted from the acts and exercises of Vertues; especially since that the Prince, being the mirrour of others, is oblig'd so evidently and actually to apply himself thereto, as that he himself should give example to those that are under his Government.

LXIX.

**T**O meet with some unexpected misfortune, is a thing, of its own nature, not good; yet may it accidentally contribute to the advantage of a person of sound understanding; in as much as it may be an occasion to him of standing more strictly upon his guard, in case the like accident may happen another time, there being few who truly believe what evil is, till they have had some experience thereof. Whence it comes, that all persons not well vers'd in affairs proceed ordinarily either with too much negligence, or too

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too much presumption ; whereas who has once weather'd out a disastrous chance , becomes thereby much the mōre cautious and moderate.

### LXX.

PRinces will do well, so to converse with their Subjects, as thence they may be induc'd to serve them rather out of a readiness of inclination than out of hopes of reward ; in regard that the less respect men have for money, the less it implies of servitude. For he who loves another sincerely and generously, does not become arrogant in prosperity, nor flinches from him in adversity ; does not bemoan himself upon the consideration of poverty, nor is cast down and disgusted at his not being much in favour, nor recoyles in time of persecution. In short, there is a correspondence between Life and Love to the last gasp.

LXXI



LXXI.

**E**Very State ought so to desire Peace, as to be nevertheless diligent in the making of all Military preparations ; for peace without Arms is weak and indefensive. Thence came, that the Heathens represented even the Goddesses of Arts and Sciences armed ; and so, to be detestable of peace and to carry on the preparations of war, are not things so simply contradictory.

LXXII.

**H**E truly understands the tender and transcendent concern of Friendship, who obliges his friend before he be requir'd to do it. For in so doing, he is not only generous in the disposal of his kindnesses, but also causes them to be receiv'd with a greater sense of obligation, by disburdening his friend of that bashfulness and fear of repulse, which commonly attends asking.

LXXIII.

## LXXIII.

**T**HAT Prince does well who makes it his business to be well supply'd with prudent Commanders and persons eminent for their valour for the management of War: But without doubt, he does better, whose Country flourishes with wise Counsellors and Statesmen; in regard that the gaining of battels consists in the prowess and valorous deportment of many, but it happens sometimes that the government of the Commonwealth is committed to the management of one particular person.

## LXXIV.

**O**F all employments the worst is that which is concern'd in the chastisement of other mens miscarriages; and thence is it that a well advis'd person does what lies in his power, to avoid them; in regard that the reprehension of Vices does

more commonly beget an aversion for the reprover, than it does amendment in those that are reprov'd.

LXXV.

Every fault, what excuse soever there may be for it, is however condemnable; inasmuch as if it be committed out of a sudden fally of passion, it is already a great miscarriage, but if out of forethought and deliberation, the mischief is so much the greater.

LXXVI.

It is well done for a man to endeavour to manage all his concerns with reason, and to carry on every enterprize by order; but in the doing of it, there is much difficulty. And yet considerate persons, to compass what they have design'd, will use such diligence and precaution, as may prevent those inconveniences; which, for want thereof,



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thereof, might otherwise ensue

LXXVII.

**I**T is but reasonable, that the Citizen, who, while he continues in the quality of a private person, is to be affable and familiar with his friends, should demean himself with proportionable degree of affability and humanity towards them, when he is put on the Robe of Magistracy, as it is the character of a mean man to be arrogant upon the honours successively acquir'd by valorous achievements; so when a man grows proud upon his advancement to Office, whereof he must within short time after be divested, he betrays his indigence of modesty, virtue, and little reflects, that mens exaltation to honours change their manners, humours, deportment, it ought to change them for the better, and not for worse.

LXXVI

LXXVIII.

**W**Hen persons of understanding propose to themselves the obtaining of somewhat which is not to be obtain'd without some difficulty, they bethink themselves of the proper means to compass their ends. Many things are obtain'd, by the dextrous and insinuating applications of those employ'd therein; as appears frequently by the Negotiations of Ambassadors, and other publick persons.

LXXIX.

**T**HE chief Commander of an Army, besides his skill and experience in military affaires, ought to be magnanimous, of a sedate temper, valiant, liberal, and prudent. It is expected from him, that he should stand upon his authority in the management of affairs, that he should be grave in discourse, and a punctual

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punctual observer of his promise  
 When affairs of importance com  
 ing into debate, he ought to use all im  
 gra ginable circumspection, to delibera  
 of with a mature judgement, and the  
 put things in execution with gre  
 diligence. His demeanour and cour  
 T tenance towards his Soldiers oug  
 to be cheerful, serene, and obligin  
 secr to all, yet with a remembrance (dis  
 his quality, and the distance there  
 wor between them; that so he may no  
 sequ by his excessive familiarity, give  
 hespe Army occasion to be disobedient an  
 Arm undisciplin'd; nor disgust it, by  
 bright ing too morose and severe. An  
 wel whereas the good affections of the  
 tacti Souldiery is the most certain ho  
 Sou he has for the obtaining of a victor  
 the it ought to be his constant ende  
 seen vour not only that they should be  
 of a him the reverence and respect due  
 acci his character, but also that they shou  
 to f have a mutual kindness one for an  
 other, and be sensible of their bein  
 membe



members of the same body ; rewarding those who merit it , and disgracing and punishing the neglectors of their duty.

LXXX.

THE power of Fortune ( by that name did the Heathens call the secret and not ordinarily perceptible disposition of the extraordinary works of God ) is of wonderful consequence in humane accidents, but especially in the case of War and Armes. So that a Command not rightly understood, an Order not well executed, some temerarious action, or the voice of an ordinary Souldier, does many times transfer the victory to those who before seem'd vanquish'd. And that causes of a sudden an infinite number of accidents, which it is impossible to foresee, or remedy.

## LXXXI.

**M**EN are never more easily deceived, than they are by those who have the reputation of being most sincere, that is, at the great distance from deceiving.

## LXXXII.

**T**HE greater and more important things are, the more apt men to discourse of them, neglecting how closely they keep the truth, or how far they recede from it. There are some who believe, and hold to be most certain what they have heard, not regarding whether it be true or false. Others, though a thing be ever so true, relate it otherwise than it is, and afterwards Time making some additions to the story, the thing is much augmented beyond what was reported at the first.

LXXXIII.

**T**O come into favour and authority, one while by ostentation and munificence, another while by industry and vigilance, are two ways equally prejudicial and pernicious, when they are practis'd subtilly in order to a mans advancement to Government. Thence came it that wise men have affirm'd, that the tracks leading to principality are steep and difficult, but when once men are gotten into them, every thing helps and sets them forward.

LXXXIV.

**I**T cannot be easily imagin'd, whence it comes that Princes are so favourable to some, and so cross and inflexible to others; to wit, whether there be in that some secret of nature, or that it lies in our power to keep our selves in a mean, so as that we may not too obstinately



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oppose the inclinations of him who governs, and yet withal, that we bear precipitating our selves into scandalous adulation, and a kind of servile deportment, but that we serve such a moderation as neither crouch to ambition, nor be over-sirous of honour, and by that means pass our lives with more security and less danger.

### LXXXV.

There are but few that can by their prudent advertisements distinguish between good and evil, between what is profitable, and what is prejudicial, but follow the ordinary road of growing better, and more cautious, by the knowledge which they derive from the common experience of things.

### LXXXVI.

Those things that are foreseen prove much less hurtful, than those which are not foreseen.

those whereof we have no preap-  
prehension at all. He therefore may  
be accounted a person of a sound  
understanding and excellent temper,  
who has the government of himself,  
and as with an unstartled spirit, en-  
tertains the arrival of sudden and un-  
expected accidents.

LXXXVII.

THOUGH the particular thoughts  
and imaginations of every one  
be known only to God himself, yet  
the natural inclinations of a people  
or a Province is a thing obvious and  
easy to be known; inasmuch as their  
actions being publick, they must  
needs thereby discover their intenti-  
ons and affections; from which  
prudent men will be able to give a  
character of them accordingly.

LXXXVIII.

Subjects are much more satisfi'd to  
have their Prince near them,  
D 3 than

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than at a great distance from them, or, inasmuch as there accrew thence two of the considerable advantages; one, that the truly loyal, and well affected being more immediately under his protection, are so much the more engag'd to his service; the other, that the pernicious designs of turbulent persons are the more easily prevented.

### LXXXIX.

A Commander in chief ought to acquire reputation, not by the hardships and dangers of others (as many do) but by the sweat and hazard of his own person, and the interposition of his own virtue. And whereas it is no less honourable to terminate a War by Counsel, than to put a period thereto by Arms, he ought to use both means, and should principally reflect, that the first successes are those which render him most dreadful to the Enemy.



or, on the contrary, despicable and  
of little repute; in regard that, for  
the most part, such as the begin-  
ning is, such is the issue.

XC.

**A**S it is a thing unquestionably  
certain, that Victories are gain'd  
by preventions and diversions, so  
is it withal certain, that he is at a  
great distance from good counsel,  
who, without evident necessity,  
transfers the War, which another  
had been first engag'd in, to himself.

XCI.

**A** Person of comprehensive parts,  
who can husband time well, has  
no reason to complain that his life  
is too short; for he who makes ad-  
vantage of the infinite occasions that  
present themselves to him, does anti-  
cipate Time it self.

## XCII.

**L**iberty is a thing makes a great noise in the world, yet few truly understand wherein it consists. But of all kinds of Liberty, that of Persuasion is the most desir'd by all in so much that to gain it, some would rather be transplanted to ever people Solitudes, than smother their discontents to live in well-govern'd Societies.

## XCIII.

**H**E who desires to be in favour with his Superiour ought to make all the discoveries he can of the respect and reverence he bears him; for if there be once a failure in that, the endearing correspondence between Superiours and Inferiours is immediately dissolv'd.

## XCIV.

XCIV.

**H**E who is entrusted with the custody of a City which expects a Siege, ought above all things to bethink himself of all the remedies which may protract time, and to cut off all opportunities, though ever so small, from the Enemy; inasmuch as many times one day, nay one hour, produces some accident which may occasion the relief of it.

XCV.

**H**E is easily deceiv'd who relies on the first advertisement he receives of some accident that hath happen'd, in regard that commonly the effects are not answerable to the first advices that come. He therefore who is not forc'd by necessity to do otherwise, ought to expect several confirmations thereof, ere he takes up his final resolution, what he ought to do.

D. 5.

XCVI.



## XCVI.

**I**T is a dangerous thing to be govern'd by examples, if there be not a concurrence in the general, and also in all the particulars of the same reasons to be consider'd. The same may be said, if things be not regulated by the same prudential motives and reflections; and withal, if there be not a combination of all the other inducements, and the accidents, and success consequent thereto.

## XCVII.

**A**S it is a servile act for any man to be a slave to his affections; so to subdue anger, the great disturber of counsel; to be moderate in Victory, which, of its own nature, is insolent and haughty; to be absolute master of ones self, which is the devoir of a well temper'd and generous soul; to exercise humanity, meekness, and liberality towards

an Enemy, is a thing truly royal, divine, and worthy of eternal memory.

XCVIII.

There is not any thing more becoming or more necessary to a Prince, than to be just, liberal, and benevolent; inasmuch as it is the inseparable; attribute of Grandeur and Power to relieve the oppressed, and to alleviate the calamities of others; and this especially in Kings, who, by such acts, approach so much the nearer the Divinity, whose living images they are, upon the score of their supereminent rank.

XCIX.

Persons of lewd inclinations have always some opportunity of doing evil, and though they do it not, yet is it not so great a satisfaction to others, to see that they do not commit those enormities which they might,

might, as it is an affliction, to think that it is in their power to command them.

## C.

**T**HAT Commonwealth wherein there is justice duly administered for the poor, chastisement for such as are insolent and tyrannically inclin'd, an exact observance of weights and measures, as to those things which concern the sustentation of humane life, discipline and exercise for the younger sort, and as little avarice as may be in those that are advanc'd in age, must needs be an excellent constitution of Government.

## CI.

**L**ET not any Prince think that the choice of a Tutor for his Son is a thing of small importance. For in that case, his diligence and circumspection ought to be the greater, in that he is not to do in this, as in other



other Offices which are bestow'd either upon the mediation of others, or by corruption, or importunity or friendship, or for a reward of some services already done: in regard that though some one of his Courtiers has manag'd an Embassy with good success, or been General of an Army, or some great Officer about the Prince's person, or relating to his Household, yet does it not follow that such a person is fit to teach his Son. The reason is, that for a man to be an Ambassador, or General, it requires only in the former a good stock of dexterity and dissimulation, and in the latter, that he have valour and good fortune; but to be Governour to a Prince, it is requisite, that he have all the accomplishments, and qualifications, suitable to the education of a person of that transcendent dignity.

## CII.

**I**N the disastrous accidents of our life, wherein our own industry and strength are of little account, the only remedy we have, is to look on the worst of misfortunes as things not incompatible with the condition of humanity, and to be so far prudent, as to smother our resentments thereof.

## CIII.

**B**ETWEEN two Princes, the one addicted to the exercises of virtue, the other complying with the suggestions of vice, there is this difference, that the latter is only obey'd but the former is both obey'd and lov'd. Besides, the good and virtuous Prince makes the most difficult enterprises seem light, and on the contrary, the Tyrant makes the lightest seem most heavy. Happy therefore is he who is obey'd, but

much

much more happy he who is both obey'd and belov'd; for the body grows weary of obeying, but the mind is never wearied nor cloy'd with loving.

CIV.

There is one thing which a wise Prince will always be mindful of, to wit, that, in the management of the publick affairs, his Governours and Judges never permit the abrogation of ancient Customes, nor the introduction of new ones; in regard the Populace is commonly so humorous and extravagant, that they would every day have new Princes, and new Laws.

CV.

It is an easy matter to design what a man would have done by another person, and by what means it is most likely to be brought to effect; but to command the execution thereof.



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of is no slight thing, inasmuch as be- alwa  
tween those two there are many we  
things which obstruct, retard, and dis- the  
sturb such executions.

### CVI.

**'T**IS a thing out of all dispute, yet c  
as *Aristotle* affirms in his *Rhetorick*, that Riches do often render own  
those persons, that are possess'd may  
thereof, proud and insolent: but he mit  
who shall wisely consider it, will say that  
with *Seneca*, that none is more worthing  
thy, none makes greater approach recti  
to the Divinity, than he who makes self,  
no account of riches, which, saies he fool  
I am far from affirming, that thou that  
shouldst not be possess'd of, but man  
would have thee possess'd thereof  
without any fear, distraction, or di  
sturbance. Which happiness, thou IT  
art not to acquire, but by this only gard  
expedient, to wit, by a firm persua have  
sion, that thou canst live happily and  
without them, and that thou shouldst  
always

always look on them, as if they were taking their flight away from thee.

CVII.

What presumption soever a man may have of his own abilities, yet ought he not so to rely on his own counsel, as that sometimes it may not be more safe for him to submit to that of others; in regard that he who is ashamed of consulting, and defies the conduct and directions of another, may assure himself, for the most part, that he has a fool to his Guide, and consequently that he must needs be guilty of many miscarriages.

CVIII.

It is not prudence to judge of Counsels by the event of things, in regard that many times good Counsels have not an issue answerable thereto, and on the contrary, evil Counsels may

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may prove fortunate. But when  
Counsels are applauded, upon the  
score of their being successful, it is  
a secret encouragement for men to  
do those things that are unjust, which  
may prove highly prejudicial to the  
Commonwealth, inasmuch as even  
Counsels are not always fortunate;  
and there is also another fault, in  
blaming and censuring the more  
prudent Party, whose advertise-  
ments have not had the success which  
was expected, in regard that such a  
procedure disheartens the Citizens  
from giving their opinions freely,  
when the publick concerns of their  
City requires it.

### CIX.

WHEN it happens that there is  
necessity of denying some per-  
son his request, it is but requisite, to  
keep the said person from being dis-  
gusted, and to assure him of the good  
will they bear him, and to make  
some



some other overture to him, so that he may thereby perceive that they have a respect for him, and would gladly oblige him. Upon this demeanour, the other, if he have any sentiment of humanity, will be as much, if not more, satisfi'd, than if his request had been granted: So great an influence have kind words and an obliging carriage over the minds of good natur'd persons.

CX.

**I**N publick affairs it is requisite that men be extreamly careful and considerate at the beginning of what they design; in regard it will not be afterwards in their power without dishonour and danger, to recede from the deliberation once fixt upon, and in which they have for some time persisted.

CXI.

## CXI.

**W**Hat is wish'd by the greater number does not often succeed, in regard that for the most part the events of humane actions depend on the wills of few; and the intentions of these latter being in a manner always different from those of the greater number, things seldom happen otherwise than according to the intention of those from whose directions they derive their first motion.

## CXII.

**N**eutrality is most commendable in the Wars wherein other parties are engag'd, in regard that many inconveniences and great charges are thereby avoided; and it may be time enough to be concern'd for either party, when success seems to intimate which side is most likely to prevail.

## CXIII.

CXIII.

**T**HE clemency of Princes hath always gain'd them good-will and reputation; and, on the contrary, rigour, ( if there be not some extraordinary necessity for it ) has always produc'd the contrary effects, and instead of removing the obstacles and difficulties, which lay in their way, it has made some additional thereto.

CXIV.

**I**T is more wisely done for a man to court his friendship who is unwilling to become his Enemy, than to curry favour with him, who one time or other cannot be his Friend.

CXV.

**T**Here are three principal considerations to be minded in the carrying on of all Enterprises, to wit, the



the justice of the Cause, the facility of the Victory to be obtain'd, and the conveniences and advantages accruing thereby.

## CXVI.

**T**HERE is not any thing so short liv'd as the remembrance of Benefit, and many times, the greater it is, the more likely it is to be repay'd with ingratitude. For, who is not willing to take off the obligation, by retaliation or remuneration, often endeavours to do the same thing in another sense, persuading himself, that the good turn was not so great; and the who are ashamed of their having been reduc'd to the necessity of desiring a kindness, are vext and tormented in their minds that they have receiv'd it. So that the remembrance of the necessity into which they were fallen makes a greater impression upon them, than that of the Obligation.

gation which had been layd upon them.

CXVII.

**M**Any are the inconveniences that happen in the Armies of confederated parties; while they are concerting their designs, the opportunity of entring into action slips away, their preparatives are delay'd, interrupted, and diverted, according to the forces, aims, and counsels of the Princes concern'd, so that it must needs prove a hard matter to make a firm union, where there is so much disorder and distrust, and withal so great a diversity of inclinations, and courages, and varieties of conditions.

CXVIII.

**'T**IS the natural humour of the Populace to be always desirous of novelties, and to be easily fill'd with false and vain persuasions, lightly

lightly hurry'd away with the innovations of those who have once set them on work, as the waves of the Sea are stir'd by the blowing of the wind.

## CXIX.

SO extravagant is the nature of mankind, that when they are forc'd out of one extreme, where they have been violently detain'd, they ride in full speed to the other extreme, without ever making the least halt in the mean.

## CXX.

THERE is one thing highly considerable in military concerns, and that is the Reputation of the chief Commanders. As soon as this begins once to decline, the souldiery is immediately discourag'd; the loyalty of the Nations concern'd is shaken; there follow distraction and distrust in Counsels, and want of a heart



and cheerful concurrence in Action; the provision for the Army's subsistence is interrupted; and on the contrary the Enemy is heartned, those who were content to observe a Neutrality, are apt to incline to the successful party, and all difficulties grow greater and greater.

CXXI.

**I**N human Actions men ought for the most part to make their Counsels compliant with the present Necessity, and not, out of an overearnestness to overcome that which is too difficult, and as it were impossible, to expose the generality to a manifest danger and inconvenience.

CXXII.

**W**E find many times by experience, that those things which at the first prospect present themselves as highly dreadful, appear by degrees  
E so

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so much the less considerable, that the former error be not renew'd by some additional accident, all the terror in process of time vanishes and we are induc'd to laugh at wonder at our former astonishment.

### CXXIII.

**H**E who finds that there is no count made of him, gives way to disgust, and that inspires him with thoughts of revenge, and inclines him to attempt dangerous things, which sometimes meet with their design'd effect; especially when the person who is become so daring is of any authority, or remarkable for some extraordinary qualification.

### CXXIV.

**A**LL subjection is burthensome, all restriction is insupportable to him who would live as he pleases himself. A person of that humor

can find but little quiet under a regular Government, in regard that there is a necessity either of his compliance which the Prince, or of his ruin by him.

CXXV.

IT is commonly observ'd, that a resolution taken either too hastily, or with too much affection comes off with a flourish. For the much celerity of the resolver does not allow him the leisure to reflect on those things which ought to be consider'd, before the resolution be taken; and the excessive affection so prepossesses the mind, that it does not take notice of any thing but what is most pressing in such or such a point. To these two examples may be added two others, to wit, in these cases, when there is time enough to deliberate, and the person deliberating is unprepossess'd with any particular affection, yet out of a certain natu-



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ral incapacity, or through an imperable kind of remifness or debility of spirit, remarkable through their actions, they never do anything that holds water.

### CXXVI.

**W**Hen affairs are reduc'd to extremity, as that there remains nothing for hope to rely upon but the pure Providence of God, the prosecution of the adventure in such a case must be look'd on as a result of reason and prudence, so much that we ought to attend the danger, not minding how the ground there presents it self to humane prudence. For God sometimes takes a certain delight in sending a spirit of infatuation upon counsels and designs of some people, and making those calamities which they intended to bring on others, recoyle upon themselves.

CXXVII.

THE greater a man's credit and reputation is amongst the generality of the People, the more dangerous it is to support and advance him. As therefore it is an easy matter at the beginning to oppose the disorders which may ensue thereupon, so when they are come to any growth, it will be so much the more difficult to remedy them.

CXXVIII.

THE exercise of Arms, the observance of the Lawes, and the frequent celebration of Divine Service, in a well regulated City cannot ordinarily be separated, without the destruction of them all. So that there is a correspondence between them and the state of the Soul, where there are the vegetative part, the sensitive, and the intellectual; which parts yet do not make three Souls,

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but one only distinguish'd by the operations of the three faculties: So the establishment of the State requires a reciprocal aid and correspondence.

### CXXIX.

**W**Here ever there is servitude there is also fear; and the greater the former is, the greater also is the latter. But though servitude implies Tyranny, yet has the Tyrant as great a share of the fear as they over whom he tyrannizes inasmuch as he who commands Slaves, is not himself free; Now the Tyrant being such, it follows that he himself is servile as well as his people, and so as there is fear and indignity on both sides, so there a continual augmentation of fear.



CXXX.

**I**N matter of War, Valour and Artifice are highly recommended; but the perfection of Arms consists in knowing the true use of the moral Vertues, a right understanding of political affairs, and treading in the Steps of ancient and eminent Commanders.

CXXXI.

**I**N Military affairs, when there is some great designe in hand, the absolute Authority of ordering all is to be conferr'd on one single person who transcends all the rest in point of merit; yet so as that he be oblig'd to have always about him such as are well skill'd in Counsel, with whom he may confer, and to whom he may communicate all concerns of importance.

## CXXXII.

**M**EN are glad of advertisements and directions in things that are doubtful, not in the certain; in things subject to hazard, and not to prudence: it were therefore but requisite to consider what is the principal concern in the matter whereon we are to deliberate. For in deliberations, when any one is not constrain'd by necessity, he sets himself on work according to the unconfin'd plenitude of his own will which is in all things and every where free, and then his thoughts are wholly taken up with the success of the Enterprize, to wit, whether his fears or hopes outweigh one the other; and thereupon he resolves to forbear attempting any thing when hazard has the principal part, and is most likely to carry it; or on the contrary he will attempt the execution of his designe, when prudence

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dence tells him that it will prove advantageous.

CXXXIII.

WHEN Commonwealths are well govern'd, the prosecutions of envious persons turn to the advantage of those against whom they are intended; for innocency being clear'd by truth, their endeavours prove like the strokes given to the ball, which the harder it is struck, the higher it rebounds; so the calumniations of the envious instead of eclipsing, add more lustre to those against whom they are directed.

CXXXIV.

CONTINUAL severity must needs exasperate those over whom it is exercis'd. But as the excessive indulgence of Parents makes their Children apt to lead an irregular and disobedient course of life; so the

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remissness of a Prince, who suffers his authority to be slighted, renders the Citizen dissolute, and the Soldier undisciplin'd and licentious, and proves withal the occasion of greater mischief, when persons of quality are concern'd. For the insolence of these last is more dangerous than that of a multitude, it being not so difficult to discover the designs wherein many are engag'd, as it is to pump out the secret plottings of one particular person.

### CXXXV.

**W**Hen the Prince is solicited by a Grandee in some concern of great importance, and that he is unwilling to grant his request, he ought to consider two points, one relating to the necessary circumstances, as the cause from whence the discontent proceeds, the person dissatisfied, and the present conjuncture of time; the other, how requisite

it may be, to counterballance the refusal, by conferring some other boon on the Petitioner.

CXXXVI.

**T**HE good Soldier may be likened to polish'd Steel, which while it is handled preserves its lustre and brightness, and on the contrary, for want of being us'd, grows rusty, and that rust consumes it, and in time makes it contagious; So the good Souldier, who is good only while he is handling his Arms, in the time of War, is prejudic'd in himself, and may prove dangerous to others, when he is out of his proper element and employment.

CXXXVII.

**I**N the competitions that happen between two several parties, that which is excluded will be rather inclin'd to close with a third party, than comply with that, between whom



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whom and it the precedent com- ny )  
petition was.

### CXXXVIII.

**T**HERE is not any thing so prejudi-  
cial to mankind as a transcen- ons,  
dent prosperity; for the effects of to th  
it, are, licentiousness, luxury, con- be th  
fidence to do mischief, an irreclai- chief  
mable inclination to disturb the date  
publick by some novelty, and all the if he  
inconveniencies consequent to fa- seen  
tety. rega  
cesse

### CXXXIX.

**T**HE infamy of being temerarious  
is more prejudicial to a Military  
Commander, than the honour of a  
Victory is advantageous to him;  
inasmuch as when he is chargeable  
with temerity, the blame is wholly  
attributed to him alone, but the ho-  
nour of the victory, and the prosper-  
ous management of affairs (at least  
according to the opinion of ma- ny )



ny) is communicable also to others.

CXL.

SINCE there is frequent necessity of changing orders and deliberations, in the time of War, according to the variety of accidents, it should be the principal consideration of a chief Commander, so to accommodate all things at the beginning, as if he had, as much as may be, foreseen all events, and all counsels; in regard that, as the prosperous successes engage the respects and affections of the Army towards their General, so the contrary makes a proportionable abatement of the same respects and affections, and consequently there is not that symmetrical correspondence which ought to be between them.

CXLI.

THE prudent person ought not to entertain any suspicion that men

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men distrust his integrity, and if he does suspect it, he should demean himself so as that the wicked may not be sensible of his having any suspicion of them, lest that upon that occasion fear may augment their licentiousness, and that; as to others, there may not be an abatement of their diligence and promptitude.

### CXLII.

**T**IS prudence in a man to make as if he knew nothing of uncertain newes, or at least to keep it so secret, as not to betray any confirmation thereof; in regard that many times, either it is absolutely false, or the credit to be given thereto admits of a considerable diminution.

### CXLIII.

**T**HEY who are induc'd to commit some act in the night time proceed

ceed commonly upon some sinful motive, presuming that the night covers in them what the day would discover, to wit, their fear and shame.

CXLIV.

FOR this reason has God entrusted Princes with the Government of their Dominions, that their Subjects may, in order to the obtaining of their right, appeale from that Law which is dumb, and as it were dead, and without force in it self, to the living Law which ought to be the Magistrate.

CXLV.

THE principal commendation of military Discipline consists in not opposing danger without necessity, by industry, patience and policy to defeat and elude the enterprises of the Enemy, rather than by destroying them in a cruel and bloody engagement.

CXLVI.



## CXLVI.

**A** Benefit conferr'd upon one who is persuaded that he has receiv'd an injury counterballanceable thereto, is not sufficient to remove out of his disaffected mind the memory of the offence; especially when the benefit comes at such a time, as that it seems rather occasion'd by necessity, than to proceed from good will.

## CXLVII.

**T**HE Counsels and secret designs of Princes are most commonly divulg'd after a manner much different from that which is true in effect; and this they do purposely to amuse the Generality, that they may busy themselves in discoursing of one thing, while another of different nature is in agitation.

## CXLVIII.

CXLVIII.

PEACE is desirable and holy, when it smothers all distrusts and jealousies, when it gives a check to all dangers, and when men are exonerated from all charges, and may repose themselves without the least fear of disturbance. But when it hatches the contrary effects, it is a pernicious War, under the counterfeit title of peace, and a pestilent poison under the name of a good Medicine.

CXLIX.

AMBASSADORS are the Eyes and Ears of States, and the other public Ministers are the Spectacles of the respective Princes by whom they are employed.

CL.

MENS favours are to be measur'd by the real effects, and not by the

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the external demonstrations thereof; and yet it can hardly be imagin'd how great a satisfaction it is to a man, to be treated with the ceremonious part of courtesy and humanity. The reason of it may possibly be this, that every one is apt to think, that he deserves more than he receives, and consequently is disgusted when he perceives there is not that account made of him which he thinks due to him.

CLI.

Subjects cannot be well govern'd without the exercise of some severity at certain times, yet is there a necessity that it should be season'd with a dextrous insinuation of its being not so much the inclination of the Prince to be severe, as that it is requisite for the publick good, that the reformation of some should be occasion'd by the punishments inflicted upon others.

CLII.



CLII.

**A** Man should endeavor to refrain from whatever may cause the least dissatisfaction or prejudice to another. It is consequent therefore, that he should never say any thing either in a mans presence, or his absence, which may displease him, unless there be some necessity of his so doing; in regard it is the greatest extravagance in the world, for a man to make a needless creation of Enemies to himself.

CLIII.

**H**E who runs himself into a danger without ever considering, of what concern it is likely to be, may be accounted a person of a bestial humour. But he who knows the importance of it, and yet freely exposes himself thereto, either upon the necessity there is of so doing, or upon some honourable account, must be

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a person of great courage, and truly magnanimous.

CLIV.

**I**T is a vulgar error to affirm, that Learning and Study are prejudicial to the Brain; though peradventure it might be truly said of some one, who has a weak Brain, and is of an infirm constitution; but where there is a conjunction of a good constitution, and the accidental good of Learning, it makes a most accomplish'd person, and of an excellent Temperament.

CLV.

**T**HAT glory is to be accounted vain which is purchas'd with any injury done to another; but the true, solid, and immortal glory is that which consists not in the ruining of Nations, and destruction of Cities, but rather in the consolidation of Kingdoms, the association of  
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Provinces, the settlement of public tranquillity, the establishment of Commerce, and the deliverance of people out of the miseries and calamities attending humane nature.

CLVI.

**A**LL the fruit and advantage of having obtain'd a victory consists in knowing how to use it, and it is a greater infamy not to know how to use it, than not to have gain'd it; in regard it is more ignominious for us to be deceiv'd in those things that are within our power, than in those that are not.

CLVII.

**I**Nconsiderate and doubtful deliberations are not excusable in any but those whose concerns are in a distracted and unfortunate posture, or in a person whose thoughts are wholly bent upon Ambition, and one who being desirous by all the



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the ways imaginable to get himself a greater name, is afraid he has not time enough to do it in.

CLVIII.

**A**LL humane actions are subject to many dangers; but this is the advantage of wise men, that they know that what ever *may* happen *does* not always come to pass but that upon some occasion or other many dangers become none at all, many are stav'd off by prudence and industry; and many are wear'd out by patience and equanimity.

CLIX.

**H**E who is more apprehensive of the future than he ought to be, must not expect to be accounted a wise man, nor yet they who presuppose for certain the dangers that are but doubtful, and accordingly regulate all their deliberations, as if the

the danger were inevitable. But it argues a certain magnanimity in that person, who knowing and thoroughly considering the dangers, yet discovers how that many times, either by some unexpected chance, or by the assistance of Vertue, men extricate themselves out of great difficulties and inconveniences.

CLX.

[T happens sometimes, that when a Prince assumes thoughts of aggrandizing himself, or grows jealous of losing his Dominions, he takes occasion to forget what obligations may ly upon him for benefits receiv'd. A remarkable instance of this kind of demeanor we find in *Lewis Sforza*, who instead of expressing his gratitude to *Charles VIII. of France*, for the kindnesses he had receiv'd from him, contributed his assistance for the driving of him out of *Italy*, and sided with his enemies,  
and

and all only to preserve his own  
Concerns, and out of the apprehen-  
sion he had of the greatness of  
*Charles.*

## CLXI.

**I**N the giving and receiving of  
advice there are many things to  
be considered, but principally two,  
wit, prudence in him who is to  
receive the advice, and fidelity in him  
who is to give it. For counsel be-  
ing nothing else but a discourse con-  
sider'd and weigh'd by reason,  
in order to a discovery whether a thing  
ought to be done or not, if the  
person who is to receive the advice  
be not prudent, he will not accept  
that which is given him for the best,  
but will follow that, which, accord-  
ing to his apprehension, seems most  
convenient; in as much as not being  
prudent, he will be apt to fancy  
those things that are most inconve-  
nient, and so will never set himself

seriously



seriously to work as he should do. On the other side, he who gives the advice, if he be not faithful, will find so many ways to disguise the truth, that many times that is put in execution, which is more beneficial to the Consultee, than to the Consultor.

CLXII.

HE who intends to engage in a war ought to be alwaies prepar'd, and to have his mind fortify'd against whatever event may happen, and to be ready to entertain all occurrences; and he should principally bethink himself not to enter into a war unjustly, and consider well against what Potentate he is to be concern'd, what alliances and combinations may be made against him, and lastly examine his own forces and those of his Adversary, and what confederates either party may have.

## CLXIII.

**T**HE ambition of a General often proves pernicious to the State by which he is employ'd. For it is the ordinary humour of such persons to be backward in putting period to the War, even when they may do it with honour and advantage, that they may continue longer in their charges, and by that continuance they gain the affections of the Soldiery, and so are in a fair way to their assumption of Sovereignty. He who has a powerful Army at his devotion has the command of all as far as that can extend its Quarters.

## CLXIV.

**A**RE men desirous of coming to great repute and esteem? Let them be always careful of doing those things which are commendable and of good report; inasmuch as vertuous actions are not the effect

of honour, but honour is the effect and recompence of vertuous actions.

CLXV.

**I**T is generally acknowledg'd by all, that the Government of a Country by one single person, when he is but tolerably good, is better than that of a greater number, though it be granted that they also are good. And it may be withal rationally concluded, that in a greater number of Govenours there may be a greater likelihood of degeneration from the principles of Government, and a greater combination of Tyranny, than there can be in one individual person.

CLXVI.

**T**O frame instructions for the particular benefit of every one, is a very difficult task; but it is much more difficult to put such a project in execution; in regard that men



know well enough what they ought to do, but they are extreamly backward in applying themselves to the performance thereof. Let him therefore who thinks that application incumbent upon him, endeavour to offer a certain violence to his own disposition, and make that habitual which yet admits of no greater perfection than that of desire; by which means, he will easily attain whatever shall be taught him, and will voluntarily do any thing, according as reason shall command him, or experience direct him.

## CLXVII.

**T**HE acquisition of a great Estate or Honour is a thing commendable, provided it be done without fraud or any indirect means; yet so great is the corruption of mankind, that men commonly are ambitious of high titles, and magistracy, as if they were illustrious and magnificent.

ficent of themselves, and did not derive their true value and esteem, from the vertue of those who are deservedly advanc'd thereto.

CLXVIII.

**A** Military Commander ought so to mind all things as if he had not charg'd any person with the care thereof; and this, not only out of the distrust he should have that his commands may not be punctually executed, but also out of this consideration, that his Soldiers will be more forward to execute his orders, when they shall find him so laborious and vigilant himself.

CLXIX.

**H**E who would prognosticate what will be the effects of another mans deliberation, ought, to avoid being deceiv'd, to consider seriously, not only what a prudent person would be inclin'd to do upon

the like emergency, but also to measure the abilities and disposition of the deliberator.

## CLXX.

**A** Physician who undertakes to cure the infirmity of some particular member, is very careful that the medicine he applies does not prejudice any other member: so ought that privy Councillor, who is to advise his Prince, to be so his remembrancer of the concerns of the Commonwealth, as that he is withal mindful of the honour and preservation of the Prince.

## CLXXI.

**T**here is not any man of so weak abilities, but that he may manifestly perceive the difference there is between actions proceeding from fear and error, and those which proceed from fraud and an evil intention.

## CLXXII.



CLXXII.

**H**E who knows in himself what is advantageous, and for the good of the Commonwealth, and yet forbears communicating it to others, is an insignificant member of that Body.

CLXXIII.

**A** Commander may make a retreat upon two occasions, either out of timorousness, or prudence; the former whereof is reproachable, the other deserves commendation, in regard it seems to wave the hazard- ing of what is not sufficiently secur'd. That victory is the most advantageous and most glorious, which is gain'd with the least loss and effusion of the Souldiers blood.

CLXXIV.

**A**S the Soul, which ordinarily ought to be the Governess of  
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the Body, becomes a Tyrant, when, the  
 regarding only her own excellency, mu  
 in comparison of the Body, she so the  
 thinks of her self, as not to allow ben  
 any part of time for the service of reta  
 the body, whereby the latter is duc  
 weakned, and rendered incapable ceiv  
 of performing its offices: So, on  
 the contrary, they who make the  
 Body Lord over the Soul, and em P  
 ploy their whole time in satisfying  
 the appetites thereof, without refer- no  
 ving some part for the other, can tin  
 ver become vertuous, nor have do  
 valour in themselves. to  
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## CLXXV.

A Varice is, no doubt, much more  
 blameable in a Prince, than in a  
 private person; not only upon this  
 score, that the Prince having more  
 to distribute, frustrates men of the  
 benefits they expect from him, but  
 also in regard, that whatever the  
 private person hath, he may dispose  
 thereof

when thereof without any others being  
 llency, much concern'd in it. But whatever  
 the so the Prince has, he has chiefly for the  
 allow benefit of others; what therefore he  
 vice of retains to himself is so much de-  
 tter is ducted out of what men should re-  
 capable ceive from him.

CLXXVI.

PRinces have cause to be more  
 distrustful than other persons,  
 not only in regard they are many  
 times flatter'd, but also that many  
 doubtful advertisements are propos'd  
 to them, and that it is a difficult mat-  
 ter for them to follow those that are  
 most advantageous to their concerns.

CLXXVII.

THat Prince who has the most ob-  
 liging way to gain the affecti-  
 ons of his People, makes a great  
 discovery of an excellent good na-  
 ture, and withal gives a certain  
 demonstration of his being uncharge-  
 able.



able with the vice of Pride, which brings an odium upon the virtues themselves.

## CLXXVIII.

**W**Hen any of the Enemies forces fall off from him, and come into thy service, it is no small happiness if they prove faithful to thee; inasmuch as the forces of the enemy are much more weakned, by the defection of those who desert him, than by the loss of those who are kill'd; though the name of turn-coat, or fugitive be suspicious in new-raisd men, and odious in old Souldiers.

## CLXXIX.

**I**N military concerns, the prosperous success of the victorious Prince proceeds for the most part from the want of Counsel and Conduct in the Enemy. And thence it comes, that it is a difficult task to subdue

subdue him who knows the extent of his own forces and those of his Enemy. Besides, the performances of the Souldiery are to be attributed more to their gallantry than to their multitude, and sometimes the advancement they make depends more on the advantages of the place, where the engagement happens, than upon their personal valour.

CLXXX.

**M**EN, Armes, Mony, and Provisions are the sinews of War; but of these four, the two former are the most necessary; in regard that resolute men, well Arm'd, will make a shift to find mony and provisions; but those two last will not so easily find Men and Arms.

CLXXXI.

**W**Hen the Prince is surrounded by his familiar friends in a time that requires nothing of action, he

he communicates his favours to those who are most acceptable to him, and most compliant with his humour. But when he has some great design to carry on, he knows how to make a distinction between those who are purely favourites, and such as may be more serviceable to him.

## CLXXXII.

**A** Person reputed to be of great conduct and well experienc'd in the management of affairs, who can maintain ten thousand men, is more to be fear'd and esteem'd than ten others confederated together with each of them five thousand men; in regard they are tedious and dilatory in the concerting of their designs, and much time is commonly lost ere they can be unanimously brought to resolve upon the same end.



CLXXXIII.

**T**Hat person who is desirous to be entertain'd into the service of some Grandee, should rather pitch upon one of some repute for his prudence, than one notorious for his ignorance : in regard that if his dependence be on a wise man, he will find means to ingratiate himself into his favour ; but with an ignorant man, his applications will in all likelihood prove ineffectual, by reason of the want of apprehension in the person to whom they are made.

CLXXXIV.

**T**HE affairs of this world are in a perpetual fluxe of uncertainty and instability ; yet are they always in a progressive course towards the end to which they ought to tend according to their nature. But this progress meets with greater obstructions

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structions than we imagine, in regard and  
that we measure their motion ac- the. P  
cording to our life, which is of no great  
great duration, and not according if his  
to their continuance, which seems gag'd  
long to us in respect of our selves. the  
And thence it comes, that the and  
judgements which we make of who  
them are commonly false and de-  
fective.

### CLXXXV.

**I**N things of importance, he  
who does not take into his  
consideration all the particulars  
relating thereto, cannot frame a  
right judgement of them; in re-  
gard that any single circumstance,  
how inconsiderable soever it be,  
may change the whole face of the  
thing which is to be judg'd. Yet  
true it is, that many times, a man  
may frame a good judgement there-  
of, though he have the knowledge  
but of the affair only in general;  
and

and on the contrary, he who knows the particulars may be guilty of a greater miscarriage; in regard that if his head be not clear, and disengag'd from passion, his attention to the particular part will confound and disturb his apprehension of the whole matter under consideration.

CLXXXVI.

IT is a great felicity for a man to see his Enemy cast down and lying at his mercy; but the greater his happiness is, to whom that happens, the greater reason he has to make a commendable use of that victory, by expressing his clemency and readiness to forgive, it being the particular mark and property of a great and generous soul.

CLXXXVII.

AN inferiour Prince ought not to hazard all he has in one fight; for if he get the better, he only gains



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gains the more glory; if he mis- carries, he is ruin'd to all intents and purposes.

### CLXXXVIII.

**W**E find that in the ordinary differences which happen between men upon the civil account, and in the diseases whereto men are subject, the Judges and Physicians have recourse to the judgements of those who have been anciently eminent in those several Professions; The same may be said of affairs of State and Policy, that it were expedient the present Statesmen consulted the directions of the Ancients, who have been eminent for the good Government and civilization of such as were subject to them.

### CLXXXIX.

**T**Here are many who seem to be highly diligent in the reading of ancient Histories, and to take a

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particular divertisement therein, by reason of the remarkable variety of accidents which occur; but few apply themselves to the imitation thereof; and that with the greater reproach to themselves, in that they think it a thing not only difficult, but also indeed impossible; as if the Heavens, the Sun, and the Elements had chang'd their motions, order and influences, in comparison of what they were heretofore.

CXC.

THE Friendship there is between persons of quality, of a private condition, proceeds from the mutual correspondence of their minds, and the consonancy of their humours and dispositions. But among Princes, this correspondence of humours does not always beget amity, but sometimes, out of a certain judgement which they frame to themselves, of the advantages accruing

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crueing by the contraction of such Friendships, and sometimes their confederations are the effects of the present exigences forcing them thereto.

### CXCI.

**A**Dversity is the Touch-stone which distinguishes between those who are friends out of design, and those who are really such. It makes a full discovery of the fidelity and constancy of some, and how slight and superfluous others may be. So that a man has this benefit by adversity, that there are driven from him, without the help of a Staff, all that throng of persons whose souls are mercenary and of no value, full of avarice and ingratitude, and there remain behind only those minds which are fortune proof, and such as cannot be surmounted by Adversity.

### CXCII.



CXCII.

HE who founds a Commonwealth, and establishes Laws for the government thereof, ought to have presuppos'd that men are inclin'd to wickedness, and will make a discovery of that inclination, upon any occasion that shall offer it self. And when the malignity lies conceal'd for some time, it proceeds from some secret cause, which, for want of having seen the experience of the contrary, was not observ'd; but it is afterwards discover'd by time, which brings all things to light.

CXCIII.

Neutrality, of its own nature, is full of danger, in as much as it gives offence, on the one side, to the stronger party, who expected to be sided withal upon the score of his grandeur, and on the other to the weaker,

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weaker, who takes it unkindly, and thinks it an injury that he is not assisted and reliev'd. So that the neutral party is neither secur'd against an enemy, on the one side, nor protects a friend, on the other.

### CXCIV.

**A**S long as a Prince continues in a neutral condition, every one endeavours to caress him, & to draw him to his party, and consequently he is honour'd, and not only enjoys his neutrality in quietness, but also makes an advantage of it by the presents he receives from those who would lure him into their Alliances; whereas if he has once declar'd himself, he has lost the satisfaction of being a spectator of the difference, and one of the contending parties must look upon him as an enemy, though the reasons and motives he had to appear against him be never so plausible.

CXCV.

IT is a hard question to decide, whether be the more ambitious person, he who is desirous to keep what he is possess'd of, or he who endeavours to make new Conquests. For many times great alterations are caus'd by him who is peaceably possess'd, in regard the fear of losing begets in such persons the same inclinations, which they have who would conquer. Nay sometimes, he who is possess'd does not think himself secure, if he be not always in a readiness to make new acquests, and to do that, there is a necessity of having forces, and those must be in action, answerably to the ambitious desires of those by whom they are maintain'd.

CXCVI.

THose who are entrusted with the administration of publick offices,



fices, or the government of Provinces he fin  
ought to have these three con good  
ditions; to wit, That they have  
tenderness and affection for those  
who are under their jurisdiction. Sinc  
that they be invested with sufficien g  
authority to constrain, where it is re main  
quisite; and that they be persons re son t  
markable for their justice and valour cy,  
But with this precaution into the hum  
bargain, that they who are advanc'd chan  
to the Government of others be such cedur  
as have been in their younger days resol  
govern'd and directed by others. pos'd  
to fo  
lots,

## CXCVII.

**I**N all the resolutions of this Port  
world, there is an intermixture and  
of good and evil; God having cou  
order'd it, that men might be the tem  
more sensible of the imperfection of t  
their present state. But it is the tion  
part of a prudent person to counter-  
ballance the good and evil, and to  
embrace that resolution wherein he

he finds either less evil, or more good.

CXCVIII.

Since man is to look on his own good and preservation as his main concern, he ought not in reason to be tax'd with any inconstancy, when upon the vicissitude of human affairs, he also admits some change in his designs and procedure, yet continuing constant and resolute as to the end he had propos'd to himself. And this is but to follow the example of good Pilots, who being bound for such a Port, yet upon alteration of wind and weather seem to change their course, but still in the midst of the tempest they mind the prosecution of their voyage, and the preservation of the Vessel.

CXCIX.

## CXCIX.

GOOD Souldiers require a good Captain, he being the guide of all, and the success or miscarriage of a design depending on his action and conduct. Thence came the Greek Proverb, that an Army of Deer having a Lyon in the head of it, is more terrible than an Army of Lyons headed by a Deer. But it is however requisite, that both Commanders and Souldiers should be good, that it may not happen as *Cesar* said going against *Pompey*, that he went against a Captain without Souldiers; and afterwards going against *Afranius*, that he was to engage an Army without a Captain.

## CC.

THERE are four sorts of men who are always mention'd with honour. First, they who have been highly successful in the establishment and



and promotion of true Religion. Secondly, those who have been the founders of States and Kingdoms, and settled the Government thereof by good Laws. Thirdly, they who have been Successors to the last mention'd, and have made great dilatations of the Empires which they found so established. And lastly, persons who have been great Promoters of Literature, and Patrons of learned men. On the contrary, the teachers of a false Religion or destroyers of the true, the disturbers of Government, and the enemies of Learning and Vertue, have been, through all ages, infamous and detestable.

CCI.

**A** People which hath been accustomed to live in servitude, being left to their own liberty, may be likened to a Beast that has been kept in a Park, which having once got out of it, will be continually mischievous,

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chievous, till at last it be either destroyed or brought into its former restraint.

### CCII.

**W**E ought to be very moderate and cautious in the commendations of persons. For as it is natural for any one, to resent his being disparag'd, so, on the contrary, excessive commendation (besides the hazard it implies of his judgement who commends, and the greatness of his merit who is commended) is many times offensive to him who hears it. That portion of self love, which every one has, even though he is not sensible of it, makes us immediately apply to our selves the commendations and discommendations which we hear given to others, and consequently we imagine our selves concerned therein, though they are not purposely directed to us.

### CCIII.

CCIII.

**W**Hen the Prince has fortify'd himself with the allyances of excellent Captains, valiant Soldiers, Arms, Mony, and strong places, his next work must be to weaken the Forces, and to defeat the designs of the Enemy; and that is done more slowly or with greater expedition, according as occasion offers it self, which is the source of every great and transcendent action.

CCIV.

**I**T seldom happens, that a virtuous man will be ambitious of sovereignty by indirect ways, though his aim therein may be good; and that a wicked person being once become great, will ever use that authority well, which he has attain'd by evil courses.



## CCV.

**T**Hough a Successor in Government be not fully so remarkable for his vertue as the person whom he succeeds, yet may he maintain the state in the same grandeur he found it, by the vertue of his Predecessor, and make his advantage of the others labours. But if it happen that he does not live long, and that he be again succeeded by one that does not follow the footsteps of the former, such a State must needs degenerate. So, on the contrary, if two persons, both eminent for the greatness of their vertue, happen to be immediate Governours of the same Province, they commonly do great things, and give a smart stroke to the firm establishment of their Government.

CCVI.

CCVI.

It is a thing out of all controversy, that if there be not Soldiers where there are men enough, it proceeds from some defect in the Prince, and not from that of Nature, or the situation of the Country, or genius of the Inhabitants. And thence it comes, that wise Princes keep up the exercise of War even in the times of peace.

CCVII.

In a well-regulated Commonwealth, the good Services and merits of Citizens shall make no plea for their Crimes, if they be of any importance. For rewards being appointed for well doing, and punishment for miscarriages, it is an aggravation of their lapses who have done well, that they have done so, and therefore if they do

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of their former vertuous demeanour.

CCVIII.

**H**E who would reform a City, to the general satisfaction of all its Inhabitants, should endeavour what he can to retain the ancient Customs, and that course of life which the people was traditionally inclin'd to, that it may not seem to the Generality, that there is any alteration in the Government, though really there be, and that the constitution thereof is a quite different thing from what it was before. For it is the humour of the Populace, to be contented and layd asleep with that which seems, as much as with that which really is, and many times there are greater disturbances occasion'd by that which seems to be, than there are by that which really is.



CCIX.

THE vice of Ingratitude proceeds either from avarice, or distrust. When therefore a Prince or State sends out a General upon some important expedition, and the other grows highly into repute thereby; such a Prince or State is oblig'd to acknowledge and recompence the service done them. But if, on the contrary, they dishonour or affront him, avarice prompts him to commit some inexcusable fault, and so he brings himself into perpetual infamy.

CCX.

AMBITION has so great an influence over the heart of man, that it keeps a perpetual possession thereof. The reason of it is, that mans disposition being naturally inclin'd to desire all things, and his desires always excessively surmounting

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the means of obtaining them, proves a continual occasion of discontent and repining. Thence proceeds the variety of mens conditions, inas-  
much as their labouring to augment, and the fear of losing what they are possess'd of, occasions Quarrels, Animosities, and Wars, and those are the fore-runners of the ruine of one Province, and the aggrandiza-  
tion of another.

### CCXI.

**T**Hat Prince who would keep up his Estate in a flourishing condition, will not only be careful in the removing of present scandals, but also use his utmost industry in providing against such as may happen. In regard that if he make timely provision against them, they are easily reform'd; whereas if the evil be grown up to a head, the remedy comes too late.

### CCXII.

CCXII.

**I**T is not to be admir'd, that those Princes who are very powerful and have a numerous issue should have their thoughts much bent upon War; and that, either out of a motive of honour, or to make provision for their progeny, by Military Employments, or forreign Governments, if they have Colonies in remote parts of the world; or lastly to prevent the disturbances which may be occasion'd by the different pretensions of younger Brothers.

CCXIII.

**T**HE wise servant ought to imitate the excellent Physician, and foresee what he should hope or fear; neither hoping nor fearing more or less than is convenient, so that he may always know whether his hope be in its augmentation, or at



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its full height, or in its declining state, and accordingly prognosticate what he is to expect. Being thus precaution'd, he will have his Judgment as it were in his hand, not suffering it to be heightned by hope, or to be depress'd by fear: and so he will prudently manage the Affairs of his Master, whose advantage he minds equally with his own repute, in the Negotiation wherein he is employ'd.

### CCXIV.

**P**Lato would have the devoir of a good Citizen to consist in these four things; to wit, that he should be prudent in discerning well what is most conducive to the common good, as well as to things present, as to come; that he be just, in distributing to every one what is due to him; that he be vertuous, in surmounting the fear which commonly obstructs he exercises of vertue; and

and lastly, that he have an absolute  
soveraignty over his affections.

CCXV.

**T**HE shortest and surest way for  
Princes to make a mutual disco-  
very of their different designes, is  
that of Ambassadors, especially if  
they be persons of great repute either  
upon the score of the Grandeur of  
thier Masters, or that of their own  
Vertue. For it being their business  
to treat always with great persons,  
and diligently to weigh the actions,  
deportment, words, and advices of  
those with whom they negotiate,  
and also those of the Prince himself,  
they from the present conjuncture  
of affairs infer what is most likely  
to come to pass afterwards.

CCXVI.

**W**Hen men propose to them-  
selves the doing of some thing  
of great importance, they ought,  
with

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with all the industry they can, prepare themselves for it, that when opportunity offers it self, they may be ready to put their design in execution. When therefore all the preparatives are cautiously made, there should be no discovery made thereof till the opportunity of action does it; and then if there be a neglect in the execution, it argues that the persons concern'd therein were not sufficiently prepar'd, or wanted courage to carry it on.

### CCXVII.

**D**istributive Justice in a political Government ought to be regulated according to Geometrical proportion, to wit, according to the quality of persons: otherwise, it is not justice: as we see, that infamy to a person of mean extraction amounts to little, but to one nobly descended, it is the most indigestible punishment. That Magistrate therefore



fore who proceeds to the cognizance of merits and miscarriages, favours and disgraces, by the same measure, not considering the diversity there may be between some persons and others, according to their several qualifications, is defective in the understanding of his duty; in regard, that persons of noble birth are discourag'd by the ignominy of being reduc'd to an equal rank with their inferiours, and those, of the meaner sort, finding themselves treated as persons of better extraction, grow thereby the more insolent and insupportable.

CCXVIII.

**W**Hen the Forces of a Prince are regulated by prudence and conduct, they do admirable things, securing his own concerns, and those of his friends, causing confusion and astonishment to his enemies.

CCXIX.

## CCXIX.

**I**T may easily be observ'd by a person who shall examine things present with a reflection on the past, how that in all Cities, and among all Nations, there are now the same inclinations, and the same humours, as were heretofore. So that it is no hard matter, for such an Examiner, from the things past, to foresee what may happen in any Commonwealth, and consequently that Prudence advises the practising of the same remedies which were used by the Ancients. But in regard those considerations have either been neglected, or not fully comprehended by such as read, or if they have been read, they have not been understood by those who govern, it follows, that the same scandals and misgovernments happen at all times.

CCXX.

**T**HE only way to make a City flourish is to use all possible endeavours to supply it with Inhabitants; and that is done either by love or force. 'Tis done by the former, when the ways to it are free and secure to strangers who are desirous to make their habitations there; by the latter, when the neighbouring places are destroy'd, and the Inhabitants thereof obliged to transplant themselves thither.

CCXXI.

**A** Small Republick cannot safely be possess'd of a City that is stronger and greater than it self. For otherwise its case would be like that of a Tree, whose branches being too weighty for its boal, weaken it so that the first blast of wind lays it on the ground.

CCXXII.



## CCXXII.

**A** Prince or Republick should submit to any terms rather than have recourse to that Nation from which it hath assistance. For there cannot be a more plausible occasion for a Prince or Republick to possess themselves of a City or Province, than when they send their Forces for the defence thereof.

## CCXXIII.

**O**F all Estates that is the most miserable, whether it be the case of a Prince or Republick, when they are reduc'd to such extremities, that they can neither accept of a Peace, nor carry on a War. Such is the condition of those who on the one side are over-crush'd by the conditions that are proffer'd them of a peace, and on the other being oblig'd to continue the War, are forc'd to become a prey either to those

who

who are their Auxiliaries, or to their Enemies.

CCXXIV.

THE welfare of a Government consists in this that the subjects be so kept in, as that they have not the power, nor any reason to make a disturbance. And this is done, either by making all secure in depriving them of the means of doing evil, or gratifying them so well, as that they may not have any plausible reason to desire a change of Government.

CCXXV.

THE Prince who is set upon by another greater than himself, can hardly commit a greater error than to refuse all overtures of accommodation, especially when they are offer'd him; in regard that what is proffer'd cannot be so inconsiderable but that some advantage

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tage accrewes to him who accepts of it, and is consider'd as part of a victory obtain'd by him.

### CCXXVI.

**A**Mong the marks whereby it may be known what condition a State is in, we are to consider the correspondence there is between it and its neighbours. For when it is so govern'd, as that its Neighbours to gain its friendship become its Pensionaries, it is a certain argument that such a State is in a flourishing condition: but when the neighbours that are inferiour to it, are as so many Suckers thereto, perpetually draining its Exchequer, it is a great sign of weakness or want of conduct, or corruption in the Government.

### CCXXVII.

**M**EN in their actions, especially those of importance, ought



to consider, what is most convenient to be done, and to accommodate themselves to the present conjuncture; for they who either through an unfortunate election, or out of a mutinous humour can admit of no acquiescence with the present time, live for the most part in a wretched condition, ever repining, and vainly expecting a change of affairs.

CCXXVIII.

THAT some men are successful in their undertakings, and others not, it is to be attributed to their compliance or discompliance with the time proper for the execution thereof. Thence is it that we say some men proceed in their actions inconsiderately, and as if they were surprized, while others do nothing without a previous circumspection and scrutiny into all the particulars that may occur in their deportment.

CCXXIX.

## CCXXIX.

**T**HAT Commander who would have a City obstinately defend it self, or an Army once engag'd to fight it out to the last man, ought above all things to insinuate into them a persuasion of the necessity there is of fighting.

## CCXXX.

**T**H E wise Chieftain who proposes to himself the conquest of a Country or Province, ought to measure the difficulties he may meet withal, by considering the Necessity, which may force the Inhabitants of the Country to defend themselves, answerably to the greatness of the necessity in those who are to defend themselves against him, to make account that his expedition will be more or less difficult.

## CCXXXI.

CCXXXI.

Among other points of Military Discipline, a wise Captain ought to be especially careful, what pernicious they are who take the word from him; and to take order that his Souldiers believe not any but their own Officers, who are not likely to say any thing to them but what they are entrusted withal. For want of a punctual observance of this point, incredible disorders have many times happen'd.

CCXXXII.

IN a Military expedition, it is much better to send one single person, though endu'd but with ordinary prudence, than two together, though very valiant persons, invested with equal authority.

CCXXXIII.



## CXXXIII.

**S**OME Cities and Provinces, which have held out against all extremities of War, have been reduc'd by some extraordinary example of generosity, humanity, or chastity. Of this there are many examples in the *Roman Histories*.

## CCXXXIV.

**H**E who is over-earnestly desirous of being lov'd, if he exceed ever so little in the artifices of insinuating himself, becomes contemptible; and, on the contrary, he who is over-desirous to be fear'd, if he exceeds the true measure, becomes odious. He who can observe a mean in these procedures must be a person of a great and exemplary vertue.

## CCXXXV.

**T**H E only way to avoid the infamy or danger which is consequent

quent to the giving of counsel, is, to  
take things moderately, to give ad-  
vice without passion, and to defend  
it with modesty; So that the Prince  
or City, who receives and follows  
the advice may do it voluntarily, and  
not seem to be over-sway'd by the  
importunity of him who is con-  
sulted.

CCXXXVI.

THE wise Captain who has to  
do with a new Enemy, whose  
reputation is great, should make a  
previous tryal of his Souldiers, by  
small engagements with the Enemy,  
before he comes to the hazard of a  
pitch'd Battel, to the end that by  
such prelusory skirmishes there may  
be an abatement made of that ter-  
ror, which the noise and reputati-  
on of such an Enemy might have  
rais'd in them.

CCXXXVII.

## CCXXXVII.

**T**O use Stratagems and circumventions upon all other occasions, raises a dislike of the person using it; but in Military concerns it is otherwise, in so much, that he who subdues his enemy by a stratagem, is as highly commended, as he that does it by force.

## CCXXXVIII.

**A** Resolution taken up with too much precipitancy, or an over earnest affection, proves for the most part unfortunate. The former allows not the time to ruminate on the things which are to be considered; the latter takes up the mind so, that it heeds not any thing but what immediately presses upon it.

## CCXXXIX.



CCXXIX.

**A** Man is much more concern'd  
at a pleasure or displeasure  
newly done him, than he is at a  
signal kindness, which he had re-  
ceiv'd some considerable time be-  
fore. Thus a mans immediate exi-  
gences make a much greater impres-  
sion upon him, than either the re-  
membrance of that which is past,  
or the foresight of that which is to  
come.

CCXL.

**B**ESIDES many other misfortunes  
which must attend a Prince  
who is negligent in the affairs of  
War, these two are most obvious,  
to wit, that he cannot be respected  
by the Souldiery, nor repose any  
trust in them. To remedy this, there  
are two expedients; one relating to  
the Body, the other to the Mind.  
The former requires the following  
H of

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of the noblest and most generous sort of exercises, such as hunting, whereby his person is enur'd to the supporting of all inconveniencies, and he is enabled to observe the advantages and situation of places. The latter consists in the reading of Histories, and, in them, reflecting on the actions of excellent men, and how they demean'd themselves in their wars, examining the occasions of their Victories, or losses, and aboveall, in imitating those whose great Characters Time has transmitted to us.

### CCXLI.

**I**T is greater wisdom for a man to be accounted poor, though some shame be consequent thereto, provided he do not incur hatred or contempt, than to gain the title of a liberal person by rapine and injustice, which are ever attended by infamy and aversion.

### CCXLII.

CCXLII.

**H**E who thinks to advance himself by his dependence on a great Person, and is desirous to be employ'd by him, ought to keep as much as he can possibly in his presence. For ever and anon, there happen occasions, wherein he recommends some affair to him who is next at hand, which he would not do, if the other were to seek: and he who misses the beginning of his advancement does many times forfeit his access to great things.

CCXLIII.

**I**N the particular accidents of War, Chance (which is commonly known by the name of Fortune) has a greater influence than in other humane actions. For the different situation of places, the advantages of encamping, the diversity of the air, diseases, want of mony, scarcity of



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provisions, spies, guides, false intelligence, the contrivances of publick Ministers, and divers other things occasion an infinite variety in the occurrences of War.

### CCXLIV.

**I**T is more probable, that an experienc'd Sea Commander, who has ben accusom'd to fight against winds, waves, and men, should make a good Captain at Land, where he has only men to deal withal, than that a Land-Captain should make a good Commander at Sea.

### CCXLV.

**T**Hose very persons, who attribute most to Vertue or Prudence, only that they might exclude what is attributed to Fortune, cannot deny but that it is an extraordinary chance, for any man to live and flourish at such time, when

when those Vertues are in esteem for which he is most recommendable, or to be concern'd in such an occasion, as where they are most necessarily to be practis'd.

CCXLVI.

**T**HE Ministers and Favourites of Princes, if they are wise, ought to procure all the fair correspondence that may be between them and their neighbouring Princes, and withal to raise in them a tenderness and affection for their subjects.

CCXLVII.

**I**T being every mans case at some time or other to stand in need of anothers assistance, where there is no precedent obligation upon the score of benefits receiv'd, nor any consideration of intimate friendship, or alliance, the person soliciting ought, for this reason,

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to make it appear, that such his request is of great advantage, or at least not any way prejudicial to him whom he expects liberally to grant his desire; then he is to make him sensible, how transcendently he will be oblig'd to him. And where he cannot urge any thing of this nature, he ought not to be disgusted, if he does not obtain what he desires.

### CCXLVIII.

**I**N all affaires, it is requisite first to use reason, and afterwards force. In military designs therefore, it is of greater concern to set ambushes for the Enemy, than only to avoid his. The more a man governs himself by reason in any affair, the more he advantages himself.

### CCXLIX.



CCXLIX.

A Man makes a greater complaint when an injury is done him contrary to reason, than when a violence is done him by force: for an injury has place between those who are otherwise equal in condition; but force is a mark, that he who uses it is more powerful, than he on whom it is used.

CCL.

When we prepare our selves to go against our Enemies, we should make account, that the preparatives on their side are as great as those on ours, not promising our selves any more success for the faults which we imagin they have committed, but rather presuposing, that having their senses, and judgment about them, they have pro-

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vided for their affairs, as well as we have done for ours.

CCLI.

**A** Wise man ought not to conceal the advantageous advice which he has to give his Country, meerly out of the uncertainty there is of its being put in execution; for time will discover the integrity and prudence of him that gave the advice, and withal the temerity and extravagance of those who rejected it.

CCLII.

**T**Hough the act of Clemency should prove beneficial to the person by whom it is exercis'd, yet does it sometimes tend to his prejudice. But this happens according to the subject on which it is exercis'd. For when it is done

to

to a multitude, it proves so much the more beneficial, the more the obligation conferr'd thereby is multiply'd, it being in a manner impossible, that a numerous party having receiv'd a benefit, should conspire together to be ungrateful to so great a Benefactor; whereas one or few particular persons may be of so malignant a disposition, as to fall, immediatly after the reception of a great kindness, into that horrid vice of ingratitude.

CCLIII.

**T**HE best way for a Captain to inspire his Souldiers with an obstinate resolution of fighting, is, to put them out of all hopes of safety, otherwise than by fighting. And that resolution is augmented in them by the confidence they have of their Comanders experience, and the love they bear their Country. Divers other



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other inducements may concur, but the most pressing consideration is that which forces them either to conquer, or dy.

CCLIV.

**T**HE accomplishment of every enterprize is much more difficult than the beginning of it ; since the latter may be the effect of some lucky accident, but the former requires resolution, experience, and conduct. Thus a Vessel may weather out a Tempest at Sea, but when it comes near the Port, the Pilot shews the utmost of his skill by reason of the narrow passage into it.

CCLV.

CCLV.

It is a great presumption, in any person, how much so ever he may imagine himself in favour with his Prince, to be over-forward in giving him advice. For the reflections of Sovereigns being many times fixt upon things of a nature transcending the capacities of such as are about them, it happens, that they are secretly dissatisfy'd when they seem in some measure pleas'd. It is therefore the prudence of a Courtier, to be alwaies so cautious, in offering his advice, as that there may be a presumptive probability, of its not becoming prejudicial to the Offerer.

CCLVI.

## CCLVI.

**W**Hen a person, who thinks himself in favour, is of a sudden discountenanc'd, he should not give the least admission to murmuring, disgust, or animosity; but, reflecting on what might be applicable to him, upon the score of miscarriage, endeavour, by the arts of insinuation, and complaisance, to recover himself into his former station in the Princes affections.

## CCLVII.

**T**Here are two eminent requisites, in those, who are concern'd abroad, as publick Ministers. For, if they do not give evident proofs of their vigilance, sedulity, and sufficiency, in managing the Negotiations wherein they are entrusted,

as



as also of their perspicacity, in foreseeing what influence they may have on posterity, there is a great deficiency in the discharge of the trust reposed in them.

CCLVIII.

THE main design of Government is prudence carried on, and advanc'd, when there is an unanimity of counsels amongst those who have the administration of publick affairs. But when they are divided amongst themselves, and promote different interests, it argues a dangerous crisis.

CCLIX.

**G**reat are the calamities consequent to War. The Treasury of the Prince is exhausted : Commerce is obstructed : and the devastations, committed in a short time, are not repair'd, without a subsequent Peace, of many years continuance. And such must needs be the condition of the many Countries, now the seat of the present War.

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**F I N I S.**

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